1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

175 642 643 ent time. It was during Shehu Omar's reign that Barth, the famous African explorer, visited Bornu and obtained the first written account of its history.

175 643 The descendants of Shehu Laminu ruled throughout the rest of the nineteenth century without undue excitement. There were always succession problems [669] indicated by struggles for the throne among possible heirs and during the 1850s there was even a revolt in which a prince of the realm overturned his older brother for a few months until the deposed monarch was able to gather his forces and recapture the government. But such events had always been the common currency of Bornu's history.

175 648 Later in the century, however, a tragedy befell the kingdom. A marauding brigand of the Sudan who had gathered around himself an army of well-disciplined and trained soldiers slashed his way westward across Africa conquering and pillaging as he went. In 1893 he crossed over into Bornu and demolished the capital, defeating the Bornu army and sending the Shehu with some of his followers fleeing to the north and west of Bornu. This man, Rabeh, is still remembered today in Bornu for the tyrannical hold he attempted to establish and for the plundering and sacking of many Bornu villages which he carried out while subduing the state. Eventually he built himself a capital in southeast Bornu and married his daughter to the son of the Emir of Sokoto. Rabeh provides some interesting grounds for speculation. For had colonial expansion into the area not conflicted with Rabeh's own plans, he might very likely have founded Bornu's third dynasty. As it was Britain, France, and Germany were carving up West Africa for themselves.

The French arrived first and soon found themselves at war with Rabeh. Eventually he was defeated and killed, and although his sons attempted to keep control of their father's new found kingdom, it was a futile gesture in the face of French arms. By 1902 the British had taken over what is now Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria; the Germans obtained the Cameroons—containing Rabeh's old capital, and the French set up their headquarters at Fort Lamy in what is now Chad. The old Kanembu Shehu was put on the throne again by the French at Dikwa (Rabeh's capital) and was then maintained by the Germans. In the scramble over [631] territory that characterized this period, the British persuaded the Shehu to return to Nigerian territory, where they have been ever since as rulers of Bornu.

The British first brought the Shehu to Kuka, the nineteenth-century capital of the Kanembu Shehus, which they had promised to rebuild for him as part of the bargain for his return. They set up their own headquarters in the village of Magumeri and tried to administer the state from these two centers. The job of administration from Magumeri proved impossible, as did the prospect of rebuilding Kuka; it had been sacked and demolished during the Rabeh period. In 1905 the colonial government decided to set up a new capital at Maiduguri in southern Bornu which would serve as a center for both the emirate and the Province of Bornu. Today it still serves both these functions and is the major urban center of the area.

The British also reorganized the political structure of the state, and geared it into the wider colonial government they were evolving for Northern Nigeria as a whole under the leadership of Lord Lugard. Under Lugard's direction they also [439] stopped the trans-Saharan trade, especially in slaves, and oriented Bornu's economy southwards towards the Guinea Coast and the rest of Nigeria. In 1914 they quietly, and with practically no incident, took over the Northern Cameroons from the Ger-

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Tributes could be quite large; there are records of payments from Kanem to Bornu in the sixteenth century that mention amounts of 1000 head of cattle per year.

Along with taxation and other demands such as annual military service, there was a system of exemption whereby persons or groups were released from their obligations to the state in return for some service—usually prayers and other religious duties. These exemptions, *Mabram*, were made by royal declaration in writing which stipulated that facets of a person's obligation were henceforward considered to be *haram* or forbidden, like the eating of pork. One of the oldest of these, given to the family of Umme Jilma, declares that the family is forever exempt from (a) entertaining the king's men during the dry-season military and tax collection campaigns, (b) from *diya* or blood compensation for injuries inflicted on others by accident, and (c) all forms of tribute and taxes. In time, however, all these exemptions were often honored more in the breach or renegotiated. Thus one sixteenth-century monarch ordered a large group to go to war. These people promptly refused on the basis of a *Mabram* given them by a previous ruler. When the king insisted, the entire group prepared to leave his kingdom. However a compromise was worked out in which they accepted military service and paid practically no taxes. This very same group is mentioned again in the traditions at the beginning of the nineteenth century when Shehu Laminu ruled that their exemptions should pertain only to the leaders of the group, not the entire set of male line descendants of the original holders of this privilege, who by this time had become a very large population.

In its apogee during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Bornu kingdom was an expansionist power, and warfare was the state function par excellence. According to traditions and written records, as many as seven or eight military campaigns a year were not uncommon; this meant an expedition might leave Bornu every six or eight weeks during the dry season. With so much militarism the techniques of warfare elaborated accordingly. From at least the sixteenth century onward, Bornu imported muskets, swords, chain mail which were vital and ancient parts of the Saharan trade, although such armaments were also manufactured by Bornu craftsmen as well.

The army itself was organized into regiments, representing a local area or an ethnic group under their own leaders, and they went into battle according to a well laid out military strategy. Campaigns were amost always conducted against walled towns. The shield bearers advanced first; then after it was felt that the poison arrows of the enemy were exhausted, the rest of the army would advance either storming the walls or forcing the town dwellers to come out and fight—whereupon muskets and cavalry were used. Generally speaking open encounters were quite unusual; the Bornu army was large, well disciplined, and well equipped, while the town dwellers were weak in all these respects and would usually try to flee once the siege went against them. Fallen towns were then mercilessly looted and the inhabitants killed or enslaved.

After the campaign and the distribution of booty by the leaders, the army disbanded. Leaders of various territorial ethnic groups swore allegiance to the king and arranged for the next campaign to be held so many days hence. At that time, criers were sent around to local markets stating the date and place of rendezvous for the army. Able bodied men were expected to go or send a representative bear-

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holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles.

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs.

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area.

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere.

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed.

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu-

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rope. From North African manufacturers came cloaks, shawls, red felt and embroidered hats for men, sashes, trousers, carpets, religious books, spices, perfumes, and later, cowrie shells. From the desert came tobacco, barley, wild rice, dates, salt, natron, camels, and various assorted medicines, especially *drupa*, a herb believed to induce fertility in women. In return Bornu sent back sewn cloth, hides, leatherwork, sandals, feathers, ivory, gum arabic, Korans, kola nuts, and, above all, slaves. Caravans were large, and the trip was long, arduous, and dangerous because of the desert and its marauding inhabitants. However, just how important foreign trade was in the area is difficult to assess. The ordinary man probably used very little of outside manufacture, but at the capital such goods were considered necessities for people having any pretentions to higher status in the kingdom.

The Colonial Change

Using this description of pre-colonial Bornu it is now possible to discuss the kind of changes that were brought into the area by the inception of British rule at the beginning of the twentieth century. The British came to Bornu in 1901, after it had been occupied for seven years by Rabeh who had been intent on making himself the founder of its third dynasty. The British had not only to bring Bornu under the Northern Nigerian Government but to resuscitate its leaders who had not been in control of the area since 1893. At first they simply left the Shehu to do as he pleased, with the exception of waging war and carrying on the slave trade, which they vigorously put down. However, the idea of fiefs being ruled by lords at the capital seemed grossly inefficient, and they soon ordered that the Shehu choose his best fief-holders and that these be sent out to the locality of their fiefs to govern. Furthermore they decided to consolidate numbers of fiefs into larger units which they now called districts. There followed a tussle between the British and the Kanuri over how many village areas and how many districts there were going to be, the British generally trying to limit the number while the Shehu and his advisers generally tried to increase them. Finally a number around twenty was worked out for the districts and then village areas were incorporated into them. In general these village areas approximate the size and location of former fiefs. However the Kanuri felt that the head of a district was like a titled, local, territorial chief of the nineteenth century who has control over a large number of settlements, so he was called *ajia*, which translates today as a district head. Under him were heads of village areas that included a number of satellite settlements—and this village area head was—like the *ajia*, appointed and turbaned by the Shehu. He was therefore called a lawan (village area head) as was the titled head of a settlement with satellites during the nineteenth century. The difference, however, was that now there was no fief-holder or his representative to whom the local headmen were accountable. The district head held his office directly under the Shehu and the village area heads were directly under the district head. Small wards and hamlets were now headed up by bullama and the term for a bullama's subordinate, the mbarma, fell into disuse and has now almost disappeared.

The mode of appointing and maintaining these jobs led to problems which were never really solved. The Shehu put up names for the district heads who be-

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throughout the emirate. Roads were built connecting the district capitals to Maiduguri, the major city of Bornu and to one another, and district capital markets came to be among the most active because of the increased population in the district capitals not producing their own goods.

In the economic sphere the colonial era sounded a death knell for the Saharan trade. A dribble of caravan trade still exists, but it was the express policy of the British to face Bornu around and turn its trade toward Nigeria and the Nigerian ports. Caravans were heavily taxed, and European trading companies were encouraged to move into Bornu and start circulating cash and cheap import goods. These few large English and French trading companies encouraged the appearance of a corps of Levantine traders who are ubiquitous in West Africa. They take credit from the large companies, giving it out again to large numbers of Africans who buy and sell for them. By the second world war ground-nuts were a well established cash crop, marketed through these companies although controlled by the government. When inflationary boom prices for ground-nuts hit Bornu after the war, the people were ready to take full advantage of it and there was a surge upwards of consumer buying, so that radios, bicycles, and many other industrial commodities became part of local life. On the other hand, judging by the surprise registered in the annual reports of the colonical officials, the government was a little stunned at first to know what to do with its increased revenues. However a host of new improvements began to be an accepted part of life in the public sector, just as new import items became common to the private sector. The most recent of such changes has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. After independence, the digging of deep wells increased the cattle population enormously and has provided a basis for further development in the area. This, then, is the Bornu background. It is a long and eventful one—and the people are proud of it. For an anthropologist, one of the most intriguing questions to ask is "why"—why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times? It has absorbed Shehu Laminu's destruction of the Sefuwa dynasty, Rabeh's conquest, the colonial overlordship, and national independence in its calm stride. Its leaders and its people are remarkably stable—yet not enslaved by tradition. Indeed they strive to change and develop Bornu and their future is a bright and hopeful one. In the chapters to follow I hope to provide answers to these questions in order that we may ask them again after considering in more detail the quality of life in Bornu.

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so on, report that if they visit the capital of Maiduguri they often go to pay their respects to the Maiduguri head of their own occupation. People felt that rural heads of occupations should always do this, and everyone else should try to do it now and then. Local heads of occupations, no matter where they live, usually do have some privileges. Thus in larger villages and cities, the head butcher has one day a week, not market day, on which his meat alone is sold in villages. In Magumeri the head butcher receives a small commission on all hides and skins sold by the village's butchers.

Very often those in similar occupations live close to one another within a village, and some small hamlets are made up of people devoted almost exclusively to one craft activity. This reflects the fact that sons tend to settle in the vicinity of their fathers especially when they take up the same occupation. Since this is also true of many clients and apprentices, who are non-kin, it is often quite normal to see a hamlet or a ward of a larger village composed of people most of whom practice the same dry season activity.

In analytical terms almost all of Kanuri craft production is characterized by simple technology, cottage industry organization in the same household or a group of closely related households, and by its interrelations with regional and even international competition. Let us go over these points one by one.

Only the simplest tools are required to produce everything made in Bornu, and the materials for these can often be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. For example, an ordinary blacksmith working at home, as they all do, can make from three to five hoes a day; or a dyer working over his dye vat can color five or six robes in a busy day with no disturbances. A potter makes from ten to twenty pots a week, depending upon the type of pots being turned out. Compared to the productivity of more industrialized workers in Africa itself or other parts of the world, such outputs are almost infinitesimal. Production itself is almost always carried on in small groups located inside the household of a craftworker. In this sense Bornu craft production is of the cottage industry type. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their own ward of the town, especially when the group includes a number of agnatically related kinsmen among its members. This means that a craftsman spends his working hours at home or close by in a neighbor's household, and these neighbors are often close kin. In some special cases craft work is organized along some other lines. Thus the blind people, who often live together in a ward of their own, produce rope and then sell it in one section of the market. It is an occupation that can be practiced by the blind and affords them some means of livelihood in the community.

Unlike food production in which the Bornu area provides almost everything they require in the way of staples, Kanuri crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. Thus iron for blacksmiths, dyes for clothes, paper, textiles, or glass beads have always come from outside Bornu. Furthermore there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other parts of the Sudan. This works both ways so that Bornu knives are accepted and coveted items in many markets all over the Sudan, while leather work from Kano can be seen all over Bornu and is always in high demand. On a more local level in a small village like Magumeri, craftwork from other villages almost always finds its way into the local market to compete with items produced in Magumeri. Such openness means that

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438 craftsmen must sustain any and all competition from the import of goods into Ni-
• 439 geria. Thus native weaving has almost disappeared, as it has been unable to withstand the onslaught of milled cotton cloth from Europe and Japan.

434 Given the household nature and low productivity of most craft production in Bornu, it is interesting to ask whether many households can sustain themselves by relying on the proceeds. In rural Magumeri and surrounding villages craftsmen estimated their earnings per week from craftwork in both the dry and the wet seasons. When we compared these figures to the expenses of these same households in terms of food, clothing, ceremonies, taxes and so forth, we found that craftwork most often provides for about forty to fifty percent of the household expenses on an annual basis. In other words for rural producers craftwork is an important source of income but does not provide for the household's entire economic needs.

434 This is why almost all Kanuri outside the capital city are farmers *and* blacksmiths,
463 or farmers *and* calabash makers, or farmers *and* dyers, etc. On the other hand three kinds of people in rural Magumeri and its surrounding villages invariably get most of their income from non-farming activities. These are the political specialists or those connected by salary to the native administration, to a lesser extent the religious specialists, and to a still lesser extent many of the traders. These men tend to get higher cash incomes than the ordinary peasant craftsmen and thus do less farming.

433 When Kanuri craftsmen estimate why their productivity in household crafts
464 goes up or down, they give a number of reasons, but the one that comes up over
463 and over again concerns the loss or gain of helpers who either live in the house-
592 hold or close by. In other words the number of wives, followers, clients, sons, and
571 so on that a craftsman can depend upon to help him is in their view the largest determinant of productivity for craft enterprise.

By way of illustration let us look at a couple of cases so that we can see some of these generalizations as they apply to the lives of the people themselves.

463 KA'ANAMI, THE CALABASH MAKER Ka'anami lives in a compound with
592 four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his younger brother (same father,
159 same mother), and his father's older sister. The compound, although fully enclosed with grass mat walls, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, has his own farm plot on which he grows groundnuts for cash, and he makes a few calabashes now and then. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given cooked food by the old woman. He used to help his father a great deal more than he does now but he still contributes now and then to both his father's and his brother's farm labor. He is doing much less of this at present and is instead contemplating marriage. He is discussing this with his brother who relays the information to their father. This involves the possibility of setting up his own household close by. Dolo still runs messages for his father and like Ka'anami feels that his father is head of a group of contiguous households within their ward of the village. Ka'anami has a "far-farm" or bush farm about three quarters of a mile south of Magumeri and three "house-farm" plots close to the hamlet of Fulongo, about two miles south of Magumeri, where he and his father used to live before the entire family moved to Magumeri. He generally harvests from twelve to fourteen bags of millet which he stores, and four to five bags of ground-nuts which he sells for cash.

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the ex-

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farm. If Kachella Abba were to leave Magumeri, Monadu feels he would move with him. This would not impair his relationship to the salt supplier since that man lives in Maiduguri where he would still have to go to obtain wholesale salt. He says Kachella Abba is his "father" and he would and must serve him and give him respect even though the two men are nearly the same age.

BUKAR, THE "TADA NJIMA" Another example of retailing that shows how it is often imbedded into a more general relationship is that of Bukar. Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about the village of Magumeri with a tin of cellophane-wrapped candies. One of the village's household heads goes in and out of the city regularly on messages for the native administration. When in the city he buys a tin or two of candy and brings these back to Magumeri. The boy, Bukar, is about twenty years old; he is not related by descent or marriage to the senior man but lives in his compound and is fed and clothed by the household head. When the senior rides horseback in ceremonies, the boy carries his spear and walks behind the horse; he gathers grass for the horse, runs messages for the household head, carries water for the household, and works on the household farm-plots. Receipts from the candy sale are given to the household head who then gives Bukar a small amount for himself. Here the retailing of candy is only one aspect of the relationship between Bukar and his household head. He refers to his superior, the household head, as *abba njima* or father of the house, and says of him, "He is just like my father."

AJIMI, THE KOLA NUT SELLER Next we see a wholesaler who sells directly to retailers in an ancient trade that has always allowed for middlemen by the score because of the vast distances over which it is carried out. Ajimi is a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six who lives with his brothers in a small hamlet just outside Magumeri. For the six to nine months a year when farming is slack, and intermittently while he is farming, Ajimi sells kola nuts to local retailers. Ajimi gets the money from his father's older brother in the city and then buys a *kwando*, a large rope wrapped package of nuts. A kwando costs about sixty to seventy dollars and contains roughly 7000 to 8000 nuts. He buys the nuts from traders in the city who ship them into Maiduguri from other parts of Nigeria and West Africa.

Ajimi visits three or four of these traders regularly about twice a month in the dry season. He always goes to all of them, inspects their goods, talks prices, and then decides where to place his order. He does this for two reasons. First there is always some variety in price and quality and he must try to get the best he can of both. Secondly, by going to these same suppliers, among dozens of possible ones, he feels he can build up their confidence in him by selling his stuff well and steadily. Indeed, several of the suppliers have on occasion given him an extra kwando on credit and he kept the profits for himself.

Generally Ajimi brings the nuts back in time for Magumeri Sunday market and attends the Thursday and Monday markets as well at nearby towns. He can sell a kwando to retailers in about two weeks and make a profit of about thirty dollars, half of which he gives to his father's older brother who supplied the original money. Thus he makes about fifteen dollars for two weeks of wholesaling—if he is lucky and sagacious in his relations to retailers. Retailers can go to several suppliers like Ajimi. They decide on the basis of quality of the nuts, on the price, and whether they can obtain credit when they need it. The most flexible and negotiable of these is credit, and Ajimi has his most difficult time trying to compete on this

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man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

175 of the empire. In the latter part of the fifteenth century (ca. 1470) the empire was consolidated and the city of Birni Ngazargamu was founded on the River Yobe. It remained the capital of the empire of Bornu for 350 years. In 1507 the former capital of Birni Njimi was recaptured and Kanem became a province of [172] Bornu. The site of Birni Ngazargamu is twenty-five miles from the present town of Geidam, and its extensive ruins can be seen today.

During the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the empire reached its zenith. Its boundaries stretched to Fezzan in the north, beyond Kawar and Tibesti, to the Nile in an easterly direction, and to Dikwa and 175 the districts south of Lake Chad. Many minor states paid 177 [248] tribute to Bornu. At that time Bornu was in close contact with [487] both Egypt and Tripoli. Controlling the southern terminus of the shortest trans-Saharan caravan route, which ran from Tripoli through the Fezzan and the oasis of Bilma to Lake Chad and Birni Ngazargamu, the empire of Bornu was in regular contact with the [411] Mediterranean area in earliest times. Guns were introduced into Bornu from Tripoli at the end of the sixteenth century [179] and became a factor in the expansion of the empire. Via these established trade contacts, Islam came to Bornu in the eleventh [183] century. With the coming of Islam came also the tradition of study and learning which has persisted as a part of Kanuri culture.

175 The institution of slavery had always been a part of this
567
[439]

175 567 839 complex of empire since slaves, along with gold, ivory, and ostrich feathers, had been traded for centuries across the Sahara and fed into Mediterranean markets. Slaves were obtained by raiding the pagan peoples who inhabited the upland areas to the south and southeast of Bornu.

175 636 Throughout this time the Hausa people, immediately to the west of the Kanuri, were under the suzerainty of the empire of Bornu. Though the Hausa are much more numerous than the Kanuri, their level of political development had not advanced beyond city-states, which were under the control of the unified and 175 167 powerful Bornu empire. The gradual entry of the Fulani into the area eventually led to the downfall of the domination of Bornu over the Hausa states. The Fulani are a nomadic cattle people deriving from the Atlantic coast area to the distant west. By the early part of the nineteenth century, drifting continuously to the east, they had become numerous in Hausa 175 721 territory: In 1804 the Fulani, under Usuman dan Fodio, rose up in holy war and gained control over the Hausa city states. They succeeded in sacking and destroying Birni Ngazargamu, and were finally repelled when the Kanuri rulers obtained assistance from the Kanembu to the north.

175 439 The inability of the Bornu empire to resist Fulani attacks was an indication of its decline and decay, and this in turn was the result of a much larger historical process: the decline in importance of the western Sudan and the development of the coastal areas of West Africa. Whereas the Sudanese states had

175 439 formerly been in control of the great trans-Saharan trade routes which brought the products of Negro Africa into the European world, the European nations had established direct trading relations with the coastal peoples by the beginning of the sixteenth century and the importance of the trans-Saharan trade began to dwindle. As trade with the north declined in importance, the Sudanese empires founded on this trade were no longer able to maintain themselves.

175 [643] The empire of Bornu, however, continued to exist though much smaller in size. A new capital, Kukawa, was built near the shores of Lake Chad. The ancient Sef dynasty, whose 'Mais' (kings) had ruled since the beginning of the empire, was replaced by the family of El Kanemi, the Kanembu leader who had [554] been instrumental in driving out the Fulani. The title of [565] Shehu (Sheikh) replaced that of Mai. Within Bornu proper a [423] feudal system existed. Titled nobility were given huge tracts of land by the Shehu. Though these lords lived in Kukawa, the capital, they collected taxes and otherwise administered their lands.

175 648 The weakened empire was unable to resist a final attack, this time from the east. Rabeh, leader of a renegade army from the Sudan which had failed in an attempted revolt there, overran Bornu in 1893. He, in turn, was killed by the French in 175 648 1900. In 1902 British forces entered Bornu, and reestablished the line of the Shehus which had been broken by Rabeh's occupation. The British then ruled in Bornu through the considerably altered organization of the former empire. The Shehu of Bornu,

Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent
871 compulsory, it is necessary at least for Village Heads and
555 District Heads to send their sons to school. In addition, political advancement under the current system demands a cer-
[177] tain amount of education. Thus a paradox: it is necessary
[182] to accept certain non-Kanuri values, to be educated outside of the traditional Kanuri system, in order to succeed in the political system which has become incorporated as part of
463 Kanuri culture. Young men who are graduated from secondary
[874] school are trained as sanitation officers, agricultural assistants, veterinary assistants, medical dispensers, hides
[554] and skins inspectors, clerks, and school-teachers. They function as a professional class, and they are called 'Malam', an extension of the title given to a learned man which formerly
[871] meant a scholar of the Koran. The presence in a town of vet-
[555] erinary Malams and dispensary Malams, often the sons of Village Heads or District Heads, provides a slight incentive to ordinary villagers to send their sons to school, since these Malams are salaried employees of the Native Authority. Often the Malams themselves go into politics and seek appointments as Village Heads or District Heads, following their fathers. Thus they return to traditional leadership in the Kanuri community.

3. Economy.

433 Perhaps the greatest changes which have occurred in Bornu
a 439 Province are economic--Bornu today is part of the world. The

433 economic situation in Bornu is determined to a large extent by
439 changes in the world market price of export items which are now
423 a vital part of the local economy. The Kanuri are an agricul-
241 tural people whose staple crop is millet. Along with millet,
the main crop is peanuts, grown for sale and ultimate export.
243 Every farmer grows millet for his family. Should he have a
438 surplus he sells it in the local markets. Most farmers also
244 raise peanuts as well. The nuts are bought by local trading
442 companies, acting as agents for the government controlled
655 Groundnut Marketing Board which buys the entire crop and
439 sells it on the world market. Cow hides and sheep and goat
433 skins are also brought by the trading companies for export,
237 and represent an important part of the total economy. The West
439 African Pound is the basic currency unit and the shilling is
436 the unit of trade in the remotest sections of the province.
Maria Theresa dollars are still in evidence but are rarely used
as currency.

439 A network of European trading companies exists throughout
442 Northern Nigeria. Almost all of them have canteens run by
473 European agents scattered in larger towns throughout the region.
The largest of these is the United Africa Company, a subsidiary
of Unilever. Others, John Holt and Co., Société Commerciale du
Oest Afrique, Compagnie Française du Afrique Occidental, and A.
G. Leventis and Co., are multi-million-dollar companies with
952 head offices in England or on the Continent. They all buy pea-
nuts, and hides and skins, and they buy through a complex system

439 of advancing credit to middlemen who do the actual buying of the
473 nuts and hides. The entire peanut crop of an area is bought al-
442 most before it is planted. Textiles, manufactured in Japan or
[452] India, are the main items imported into the region and bought by the Kanuri. Additional items imported in quantity are enamelware bowls and dishes, salt, sugar, perfume, and numerous small items of Western manufacture. For those who can afford them, the trading companies sell battery-powered radios, sewing machines, bicycles, etc.

438 Trade, both external and internal, is a vital part of
439 Kanuri economy. Traders are numerous and often very wealthy.
452 Money is lent at interest, though this is forbidden by the Koran.
437 Goods are advanced on credit by European traders, and by Kanuri
441 traders as well. A Kanuri trader who has credit with a trading
[183] company will take 500 pounds' worth of cotton cloth, promising
[443] to pay off the amount in a month. He distributes the goods to ten men who work for him, or, more properly, are attached to him. They each take 50 pounds' worth of cloth to small markets in the bush. There they try to sell the goods directly or they may give the goods on credit to a local merchant who sells them. Slowly the cash returns to the original middleman, and ultimately to the original trading company, which then permits the middleman to take another batch of goods on credit. Conversely, a trading company may advance 500 pounds in cash to a middleman who promises to bring, in one month's time, 500 pounds' worth of peanuts. He distributes the cash to his people who then

243 ber is expected to last them for an entire year, and the months
221 of April, May and June are generally the hungry months, when the millet supplies begin to diminish.

244 Additional crops of some importance are varieties of beans,
243 okra, rice, melons, squash, tomatoes, cucumbers and onions.
312 These are frequently grown as garden crops, near places where there is a permanent water supply. They can then be watered by hand, or through the use of shadoofs to raise water from rivers to the higher banks.

244 Groundnuts are the primary cash crop of Northern Nigeria, and the Kanuri plant large quantities. Almost all Kanuri families, even those in the larger towns plant a crop of millet; in the villages, almost all plant a second crop of groundnuts
[492] as well. These are bought by agents of the larger trading com-
[439] panies for cash, and eventually are sold to the Nigerian Groundnut Marketing Board through which they are released onto the
433 world market. Millet is the basic subsistence crop of the Ka-
[434] nuri, while groundnuts are the primary source of cash for the Kanuri villager.

433 The Kanuri do not rely exclusively on agriculture. They
233 keep sheep and goats in their villages, which young boys take out beyond the fields to graze in the mornings, returning in the evening. Cows are kept, and fed by the same means, but
433 these are few in numbers. Certain Kanuri sub-groups, the Kwoyam
233 and the Buduwai, depend largely on cattle which they keep in
563

433 great numbers. Buduwai farm and keep large herds of sheep,
233 goats and cows in the brush countryside surrounding their vil-
563 lages. The Kwoyam are a nomadic herding people who keep only
563 cows. Culturally they are very close to the Kanuri; their
233 economy, however, is quite different. They live in a close
relationship with the settled agricultural Kanuri whom they
[437] otherwise resemble greatly. Pastoral Fulani and Shuwa Arabs,
on the other hand, have very little in common with the kanuri
agriculturalists, yet, like the Kwoyam, they live in symbiotic
interdependence with the agricultural Kanuri. The Fulani of
Bornu are semi-nomadic pastoralists who are the most north-
easterly extension of far-flung Fulani culture. The Shuwa
are an Arabic speaking people related to other such peoples
extending eastward to the Sudan. Fulani and Shuwa keep dif-
ferent breeds of cattle and subsist almost entirely on milk
[438] and milk products. They have very similar relations to the
sedentary Kanuri with whom they exchange dairy products for
• 439 grain and for the goods produced by Kanuri craftsmen. Be-
237 cause of the large numbers of cattle, sheep, and goats found
433 in Bornu Province, hides, sheep skins and goat skins are an
[442] important product for export. These are sold for cash to
Kanuri middlemen and are exported by the trading companies.
[434] They are another important source of revenue for the Kanuri.
ooo Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops

External

443 438 366 [439] trade, involving groundnuts, hides and skins, and European manufactured goods is not effected in the market-place. Every sizeable town has a weekly market day. Large towns have daily markets as well. Adjacent towns have staggered market days, forming loose market rings which link a number of towns. Itinerant middlemen can travel from one market town to the next with their goods, and a town is frequently known by the name of its market day, and will be referred to as "Saturday." [484] [369] People from small surrounding villages without markets will come into town on a market day from as far away as ten miles on foot, and from still further if they are fortunate enough to own a donkey or a horse.

B. Larger Features of the Political Organization.

1. The Structure of the Empire in Pre-Contact Times.

175 643 The dynasty of the Sefs came to an end in 1846, when the last Mai or king of Bornu, Mai Ibrahim, along with his son Ali Dalatumi, was killed. In their place ruled the son of Mohammad el Amin el Kanemi, the first of the Shehus, and the founder [178] of the dynasty which today "rules" Bornu. Though a dynasty which had ruled Bornu for a thousand years had come to an end, the structure of the empire seems to have remained essentially the same.

[92] Shehu Omar, the son of el Kanemi, took the title of Shehu from the Arabic title, Sheikh. His father had been a Kanembu, from Kanem which lies north and east of Bornu. El Kanemi brought

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361 648 through the district. There are no European officials permanently stationed in Geidam, though a young Assistant District Officer on his first tour of duty did spend three months in Geidam [366] in the course of the author's year of residence there. Along with the Government Rest House, the Government Reserve Area includes the canteens of the various European trading companies who have offices in Geidam, and the houses of their managers. 361 177 There are six trading companies doing business in Geidam, three [439] under the management of Europeans, and three under African managers. The three Europeans, two Cypriotes and one Greek (formerly a Swiss, then replaced by a Greek), represent the entire White population of Geidam. Two operate branch offices of larger companies; one is in business for himself. The three African managers are in charge of branches of large trading companies, two British (United Africa Company and John Holt) and one French company (Société de la Compagnie de Ouest Afrique). Thus, the small European population of the town, and the agents of the Western world who make their presence most felt, the colonial administration and the trading companies, are physically removed from the people of Geidam. They come periodically to do what they must in the town, and return to their own sections, and people of the town go out to them to deal with them. There is no opportunity for continual, indiscriminate interaction between [114] the Kanuri populace and these agents of the Western world. In order to do anthropological field work in such a situation, it became immediately apparent that it would be necessary to live

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seller.

441 438 439 443 442 Table V lists the major types of tradesmen in Geidam, according to the type of goods in which they specialize. Retailers and wholesalers have been grouped together, and as can be seen from the table, though most are involved in selling in the market-place, five of the types of tradesmen are not engaged in selling in the market at all. The brokers who sell cows, horses, sheep, and goats are all dilelma. Minor brokers who deal in cattle, or in sheep and goats, work in the market-place. [554] Wealthier and more important dilelma dealing in the same goods are fatoma, and do not do business in the market at all. Rather, their trade centers around their houses. All the fatoma in Geidam dealing in cattle, and almost all fatoma are involved in the cattle trade, are clustered around the house of Lowan Kolo Kolo, who was a fatoma in cattle himself before he became [556] a Lowan. There are about ten such fatoma, all wealthy men, in Geidam. A smaller number of dilelma dealing in sheep and goats, three in all, own houses close to one another in another section of town; another group of four or five dilelma in horses are clustered in their own neighborhood. Good horses are rarely sold in the open market, so that dilelma in horses arrange their sales on an individual basis, away from the market-place. The hide sellers are the only other group of tradesmen who are localized within a single neighborhood.

441 According to Table V, the various tradesmen tend to be organized under a head man, whose functions are identical to

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438
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[442]

Table V

Major Types of Tradesmen in Geidam

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	sells in market	sells outside
Brokers:						
sell cows	*		*		*	*
sheep/goats	*		*		*	*
horses	*		*			*
Canteen operators		*		*		*
Gown sellers	*			*	*	
Grain sellers	*			*	*	*
Hide sellers	*		*		*	*
Kola nut sellers:						
wholesalers	*			*		*
retailers	*			*	*	*
Money-lenders		*		*		*
Peanut sellers		*		*		*
Sundry sellers:						
traditional	*			*	*	
Western goods		*		*	*	
Tobacco-flower sellers	*			*	*	

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44 2. a) 126 sellers of clothing.
438

Cloth - 70 sellers who sell bolts of cloth by the yard, and who also sell finished garments. Many have a man in their stall operating a sewing machine, making up clothing.

[439] Shoes - 26 sellers, including those selling Kanuri shoes, Western shoes made of rubber, sandals of cow-hide or rubber tires.

Hats - 10 sellers.

b) 180 sellers of household articles.

Almost all of these are Kanuri-made. They include: beds, mattresses, pillows, woven baskets of many shapes and sizes, calabashes - decorated and plain, wooden bowls, pottery cups, cooking pots and storage vessels, sleeping and sitting mats (bajis) - both plain and multi-colored. [439] Enamel-ware bowls and dishes, buckets, and blankets are the only imported goods; they are sold by ten sellers.

c) 75 Craftsmen.

[326] [305] [282] [322] [294] Craftsmen selling their services and their products in the market include: blacksmiths (selling knives, hoe and ax blades, swords, horse bits, spurs etc.), barbers shaving heads, leather workers (selling knife sheaths, covered Koranic charms and Koran bags, saddle straps etc.), woodworkers (handles for axes and hoes, Koranic writing boards), carpenters who make Western items, sewing machine operators.

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44
438 d) 71 sellers of raw materials.

Tanned hides and skins, raw cotton for making thread, raffia from which baskets are made. There were approximately 35 sellers of bundles of grass used for making bəjis.

3. a) 118 sellers of condiments.

73 pepper sellers, 21 potash sellers, 6 sellers of Kanuri salt.

• [439] 16 sellers of imported European salt, 2 sellers of sugar.

b) 165 sellers of stimulants.

77 kola nut sellers, 81 tobacco-flower (fəle) sellers, 7 sellers of tobacco used for chewing.

c) 92 sundry sellers.

46 fətkema, selling: cloves, garlic, antimony, antimony cases, incense, pepper, beads, bracelets, pins, needles, hair-picks, dye, mirrors - all traditional Kanuri items.

[439] 46 taborma, selling: perfume, flashlight batteries, matches, kerosene, and other imported Western items.

d) 37 sellers of miscellaneous items.

[732] These include sellers of rope (made by the blind), salt for curing hides, fodder for horses, henna used to dye hands and feet, charms (sold by a pagan charm-seller), candy (alewa), silver for the manufacture of jewelry, horse trappings - saddles, saddle cloths, leads, whips, stirrups, etc.

Total number of sellers: 1, 477.

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44 From an overall examination of the sorts of goods sold
438 in the Geidam market, one can draw the following conclusions.
433 More than one-third of the sellers are involved in the retailing of a wide variety of foodstuffs, most of it grown, collected [illegible]or prepared by the seller himself. In some cases they are vegetables (onions) grown on garden plots for sale, in others they are types of leaves (kuka leaves gathered by Shuwa or Buduwai women) collected for the market, or a specialized product in which a group deals (butter sold by Fulani women). [illegible]Dried fish were caught by fishermen and smoke-dried by women who now sell them in the market. Fully another third of the sellers are engaged in the sale of clothing or household goods, of which an overwhelming proportion have been manufactured by Kanuri craftsmen. They sew the clothing, make hats, shoes and the entire range of household goods noted above. Included within this category are the suppliers of raw materials to the craftsmen: grass for mats, raffia for baskets, tanned skins, etc.; also the craftsmen themselves who work to order in the
44 market-place. The only exceptions to the locally made items
438 which predominate in the area of clothing and household goods
439 are cloth, which is no longer locally woven and represents perhaps the single most important imported item, and items like enamelware and buckets. Of the slightly less than one-third of the sellers that remains to be accounted for, sellers of condiments, stimulants and sundry and miscellaneous items, most sell typically local Kanuri items. The taborma sells imported

44 438 439 goods, and European salt and sugar are also imported. Lastly, kola nuts are not locally grown and must be imported.

[77] [226] Of the 1477 sellers in the Geidam market, only 226 (15 per cent) sell imported items; 77 of these sell kola nuts, and this will be discussed separately; 70 sell cloth or clothing, traceable to the disappearance of weaving as a local craft when Western cloth first appeared; 46 are tabǫrma. The remaining 44 438 33 sell salt, enamelware and rubber shoes. It is apparent therefore that the Geidam market is essentially a local market, serving the local community which includes the town of Geidam itself and smaller villages within a radius of perhaps fifteen [472] miles. Villagers come into Geidam on foot, on horse, with donkeys and with camels, bringing with them local produce, such as foodstuff or livestock and locally made wares, which they sell in the market, buying in turn the products made by Geidam craftsmen. Merchants selling in the Geidam market are all small-scale retailers, saboma, according to the Kanuri, who buy someplace and sell elsewhere at a profit. Many of these saborma transport their stock of goods from one weekly market to another, using a donkey or a camel. About twenty miles east of Geidam is the town of Digeltera, often called Sǫbdǫ (Saturday) because its market-day is Saturday. Other surrounding towns form loosely integrated market rings with alternating market days so that the itinerant saborma can visit them each 44 438 in turn with his goods. Since Geidam is reached by roads from 439 both Maiduguri and Nguru, goods imported from the West are

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44 438 439 shipped into Geidam. This sort of trade, it will be shown, does not center in the market-place, but goods entering in this fashion do eventually reach the market. Cloth, enamelware, and everything sold by the tabarma are all imported into Nigeria, but they pass through many Kanuri hands before reaching these retailers in the market-place. Sabarma from other small towns come into Geidam to buy these things and resell them in their own towns, and sabarma from Geidam go out to the small towns and villages with their goods.

44 438 439 563 The character of the Geidam market as a local market can also be seen in the interaction of various cultural groups within the market. Peoples of many cultures can be found living in Geidam. Neither Fulani or Shuwa Arabs, however, are found in the town itself. Both come into Geidam on market day to sell particular items with which they are associated and to buy necessities for themselves. Both the Fulani and the Shuwa Arabs are semi-nomadic pastoralists who come into towns solely to exchange their goods for those made by the townspeople; both sell cattle and dairy products. Fulani men sell cows, bows and arrows, and distinctively decorated calabashes; Fulani women sell butter, soured milk, woven baskets and basket covers in a separate section of the market-place devoted to their products. The Fulani buy cassava, crushed groundnuts, [415] sugar, gowns, hats, shoes, kola nuts, and tobacco. Like the Fulani, the Shuwa sell cows and butter, but the specialties of the Shuwa include the leaves of the kuka tree which their wom-

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44 en collect, and the black wooden bowl (bur) which serves as
438
439 the standard eating bowl for all Kanuri. In turn, they buy
543
[815] Kanuri-style gowns, bəjis, dates, kola nuts and incense. Lastly, Buduwai, a pastoral sub-group of the Kanuri, come into the Geidam market with cows, milk, butter and millet to sell. They buy salt, sugar, and Maria Theresa dollars (gursus, from which they make bracelets and anklets).

5. External trade.

44 External trade remains to be considered. This is the
439
177 process through which Western goods, imported by the European trading companies, enter into the Kanuri economy and are distributed so that they eventually reach the individual Kanuri. As part of this process, the cash crops of the Kanuri are sold to agents of Western companies and exported from the area.

44 The trading companies of Geidam sell their goods to whole-
439
177 salers, wealthy Kanuri or Hausa middlemen, who primarily re-
952 ceive quantities of imported cloth from the companies. The companies extend credit to these middlemen, each of whom has his shop or canteen in the town where his stock in bolts of cloth is displayed. Payment for goods is made after the cloth is sold. Consequently these men are balɔsma in Kanuri terms.
[556] Successful operators of canteens are wealthy men who deal in
[592] large volumes of goods. They are the heads of large households,
[971] and have a great many relatives, and tata njima attached to them. The tata njima farm for them, and many transact business for them as well. They distribute and sell cloth in the dis-

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44 tant towns where no trading companies are located, and in the
439 surrounding villages that are not large enough to support can-
177 teens and shops of their own. When goods are distributed and
452 sold in this fashion, the balaama pays off the debt which he has accumulated at the trading company with which he deals, and acquires new stocks of goods which have since arrived -- new cotton prints, organdy and rayon. Small traders, saberma, who are unable to establish a good credit rating and therefore cannot deal directly with the European companies, come to the Kanuri canteens and buy cloth in small quantities which they resell in the market-place or in other villages. The retailers of cloth in the market-place are therefore tradesmen of a different sort from the operators of the canteens, and it is in the hands of these canteen traders that external trade lies.

Like cloth, all other imported goods which eventually find their way to the market-place get there at the end of a process of breaking of bulk which centers in the shops and canteens. Items like flashlight batteries, kerosene lanterns, kerosene, matches, enamelware and perfume are bought in bulk by the shopkeepers directly from the trading companies who import them [E63] through their central offices in Kano and Lagos. The latter type of goods is handled largely by Ibo and Yoruba traders who operate small canteens in the Hausa ward, though some Kanuri canteens also deal in such merchandise. The Ibo and Yoruba shop-keepers sell goods directly in their small shops, and also sell to taberma. Taberma, who are Kanuri, further break

44 down the packages in which goods arrive, selling bundles of
439 matches tied together or coca-cola bottles filled with kero-
177 sene, from their tables in the market-place.

[244] The export goods of the Geidam area are groundnuts, cow-
[237] hides, sheep and goat skins and gum arabic. The same Euro-
[34] pean trading companies that import the various sorts of goods mentioned above also handle the exports of the region, and the same network of Kanuri and Hausa tradesmen is involved in the collection and sale of peanuts and hides and skins to the trading companies, save that some tradesmen specialize entirely in dealing in hides and skins, while others deal only in groundnuts. Many of the important canteen owners also buy groundnuts
44 as agents of the particular company from which they buy cloth,
439 once the harvest season begins. This trade, too, involves the
452 use of large amounts of credit which the trading company extends
244 to its list of reliable and wealthy Kanuri traders (balaama) who have been dealing with the same company for many seasons. Long before the groundnuts are harvested, the agents of a Kanuri trader, trusted members of his household and relatives, go out into the countryside giving cash to the farmers who thus pledge their entire crop to a particular trader. When the crop is harvested, most of it goes directly to Kanuri middlemen who have distributed the cash advanced to them by the European trading companies, and through them the groundnuts come into
[248] the hands of the trading companies. Eventually the entire groundnut crop of Northern Nigeria is sold to the Groundnut

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44 Marketing Board for whom the trading companies act as agents.
439 The Kanuri trader who brings in a large share of the groundnut
452 crop in the Geidam area to the particular trading company
244 which has extended credit to him receives a commission and is
[465] assured that he will again receive credit from that company in the coming year. If he has succeeded in bringing in large amounts of groundnuts, he will receive more money to work with in the coming year. If he has not done well, or if the money advanced to him has been squandered by his "people" (usually the members of his household), then his credit will suffer and may even be entirely eliminated. Should that happen, his entire household would suffer.

44 Hides and skins and gum arabic are bought by Kanuri traders
439 and sold to the trading companies in the same manner, except
452 that there is no government Marketing Board dealing in these
237 commodities so that the trading companies are not protected against a drop in the market price. Kanuri traders dealing in hides and skins work with a single company and are advanced cash by that company for purchases. Through their "men", who buy hides directly at the slaughtering area, these wealthy traders deliver the hides and skins to the trading company.
[314] Gum arabic is of lesser importance, and not all the European companies deal in it. If the world market price is high, they will make greater efforts to obtain a large portion of the crop.

44 This is the trade network through which the Kanuri economy
439 articulates with the world economy, and in particular with the
177

Western world. As is obvious from the above, it centers in a series of relationships which a group of important and wealthy Kanuri traders have established with the European trading companies of the town. It involves a network of tradesmen, who fall into distinct classes in terms of their wealth and importance. At the one end are the canteen operators, wholesalers who have large sums of credit extended to them and are the heads of large households. At the other end are the small retailers, with little wealth of their own and still less credit, who travel from market to market with their goods for sale.

6. Internal trade.

Internal, or regional trade, represents still another type of trade, distinct from either local or from external trade. The trade in kola nuts is an example of this type of trade. Kola nuts are grown only in the south of Nigeria, and do not grow at all in the Northern Region; however, all Kanuri, men and women, adults and children alike, chew them. They are imported in bulk by Hausa and Kanuri middlemen, and transported to Geidam by truck. Because of the transport problem during rainy season, the price of kola nuts fluctuates widely according to the season, much more widely than any other item sold in the market. Middlemen who buy several hundred-weight bags of kola nuts at a time are called goroma; they sell only in bulk. Goroma sell to other middlemen who come directly to their homes to buy large quantities, which they in turn transport by donkey to the more remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly.

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44 439 276 [592] remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly. The Geidam goroma may also send his own agents, members of his household, to these small villages with kola nuts to sell. These agents sell to still smaller-scale middlemen in the Geidam market-place. The commonest form of retailing of kola nuts is the hawker, the bakama, who walks through the streets with a board on which he has several dozen nuts. Men who sit chatting in the evening shade will buy one or two nuts from the bakama as he passes, divide them into halves and quarters and distribute them among the several loungers. Kola nuts may pass through the hands of five or six middlemen before the Kanuri villager sinks his teeth into them.

44 439 [233] The counterpart to kola nuts in regional trade is cattle. Cattle do not thrive in tropical southern Nigeria, and since large quantities are raised in the north, cattle are the most important item which is sent south. Kola nut importers in Ge'dam frequently send cattle south in this two-way trade. Occasionally two men act as partners, one remaining in the north from whence he ships cattle and where he receives kola nuts, the other living in some southern city, where he receives the cattle sent by his partner and forwards kola nuts north. One Kanuri goroma in Geidam had a Hausa partner stationed in Enugu, and the two dealt exclusively in cattle and kola nuts in the manner described.

44 439 563 A subsidiary regional trade which has been increasing in importance in the recent years is entirely in the hands of Ibos

44 living in Geidam. They are involved in a dried-meat industry,
439 buying beef slaughtered in Geidam, where the price is low, and
563 curing it there. Since the price of cattle shipped south is
[497] raised appreciably by rail costs from nearby Nguru to Lagos,
[498] it is cheaper to cure the meat in Geidam and ship the dried meat directly by truck to southern cities. Rail freight costs are so important that many Fulani herdsmen drive their herds to Kano, some three hundred miles away, to save the freight charges.
44 This does not improve the quality of the beef. There is also
439 a certain amount of regional trade in dried fish, since fish,
563 too, are plentiful in Geidam. The dried fish trade extends
[494] to Lake Chad, where small communities of Ibos can be found whose livelihood comes from buying dried fish and shipping them south by truck.

D. Political Organization on the Communal Level.

63 Bornu Emirate, the largest part of Bornu Province, is itself divided into twenty-one districts, each with its Ajia.
[162] Geidam is the largest district, with a population of 86,993, covering an area of 2500-3000 square miles. The Ajia of Geidam is Yerima Mustapha, and he resides in the town of Geidam, the largest town in the district and consequently its administrative center.

1. The hierarchy of offices in Geidam.

64 The Bornu Native Authority was theoretically and now is

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634 Northern House of Assembly. An elected office created by the
177 British which is an important new source of power has been
178
565 successfully captured by a member of the old aristocracy which
[648] previously held all political power. Other new offices cre-
ated by the colonial administration are to be found in the
634 District and Town Councils. Thus far, the District and Town
632 Councils in Geidam are dominated by the Ajia. But the member-
177 ship of the Town Council in particular is largely composed of
178
565 wealthy traders and a few craftsmen, who are all talaka. These
665 talaka do not yet have real political power but they have more
648 symbolic power than talaka have ever had before, and their po-
sitions may in time give them real power. The same is also
true for the officers of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC)
in Geidam, who are also talaka and controlled by the Ajia, but
who may in time emerge with real power through their positions
within the dominant political party in Bornu and in Northern
Nigeria. As yet, rival political parties in the North, the
Northern Elements Peoples Union (NEPU) and the Bornu Youth
Movement (BYM), have been effective only in large cities like
Maiduguri. They have made little impression in Geidam.

439 Perhaps the greatest changes in community structure have
177 been those brought about by influences of the Industrial West
433 on trade, particularly on external trade. Though trade has
always been important in Kanuri culture and middlemen in trade
have always existed as specialists in Kanuri cities, it is
probable that a larger proportion of the total economy is de-

177 voted to production for export today than during any previous
439 period. The roles of those involved in this external trade
433 with the Western world have changed profoundly as this aspect of Kanuri economy grew in importance in this century.

177 Goods imported into Geidam from Western centers have
439 also affected Kanuri culture. The large quantities of cloth,
463 which represent the most important item imported, have brought
433 about the disappearance of Kanuri weaving and thus have led
[286] to the elimination of one craft group, the weavers. Other crafts have been affected to a lesser extent by the importation of other manufactured goods (enamelware, buckets, rubber shoes) but the craftsmen as a group have continued to make and sell their products and services, without any direct influence from Western culture.

177 In similar fashion, the Geidam market shows only slight
439 signs of the effects of contact with the West, and those en-
441 gaged in trade within the market-place are little affected
443 by the contact. This is in sharp contrast to tradesmen who are involved in external trade, where the effects of contact are pronounced. Those most involved are the canteen traders who deal directly with the European trading companies in Geidam. As a result of their success in dealing with agents of the Western world, they have become an important and wealthy group in the community.

177 Lastly, Western education has had its effect on social
871 stratification. Though individuals in Geidam who have received

175 692 693 [645] whom appeals could be made to the high court in the capital. The keeper of the records or scribe of the high court, the Talba was considered the third most important person in the kingdom. It is said that this high court plus its scribe served as a council to the king in the affairs of state because of its members' knowledge in matters of law and religion.

175 692 643 When the Birni dynasty fell in the 19th century, Shehu Lamimu served as the highest judge in the land, thus bringing political and judicial functions even more closely together in the state. He kept the idea of an appeal court and local courts but did much of the high court adjudication himself. [631] The relation of the temporal judiciary and its religious practitioners is illustrated by a European traveller's account in the 1820's,(1) who records that local judges' decisions could be reversed by the high court or the local political resident.

175 182 463 The presence of a large upper class and a royal court with its patterns of specialized consumption, the uneven distribution of intensive cropping and craft production localities, the contacts with North Africa and to a lesser extent the western Sudan, for the last 1000 years, have all acted as conditions supporting the differentiation of labour in Bornu. [44] This has produced the idea and the physical reality of the market.

175 439 Trade has been a well organized aspect of the society for centuries. A complex system of distribution and production through the market was observed by the first travellers in the area. Grain was dispatched to Bilma up in the desert in return for salt. This trade so tied the people of Bilma to Bornu that even today when the trade has been much reduced, they still feel themselves very closely allied to the Kanuri. Natron from Lake Chad was taken to Kano and from there traded all over coastal West Africa.

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton, H. op. cit. p.23

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439 There is some information on a copper trade which the Kanuri middlemen carried on between Darfur in the east and the Nupe area of the Niger river in the west.(1) Contacts with southern people although most often channelled through Kano were sometimes made directly in the trade carried on for the much desired kola-nut. Finally, slavery was a specialized trade from which political figures had a ready source of income. The slaves were often sold locally through middlemen although there was an eager market for them across the desert in Tripoli, Tunis and Cairo.

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436 Currency seems to have come rather late to Bornu as compared with some of the other Sudanese countries. Certainly the nobles and large traders knew of its use in the early 19th century, but the Kanuri peasant had not taken up the customs of currency use that were prevalent amongst his contemporaries in other places such as Kano and Zinder at the time. In the 1820's Clapperton noticed that it was not until he arrived at Katagum, on the way to Kano from Bornu, that cowrie shells were being used as currency. Although he did notice that rolls of cloth from native weavers could be used as currency in some of the Bornu markets.(2) By 1850 the rolls or strips of cloth (gaba'a) were being slowly replaced in Bornu by the cowrie shell.(3) Amongst the traders and the upper classes, both Maria Theresa and Spanish dollars were available for use as money and were even seen in limited use in the Kuka market in the 1850's. However Barth's most revealing passage in this respect tells of his difficulty in buying food from the rural peasants who came to market and refused to have anything to [437] do with the currency. In order to buy grain, it was necessary for Barth to change his M. T. dollars to cowries, then buy one or more kulu'u (men's robes) and then barter this item of clothing for the required cereal. That

(1) See Arkell, A.J. 1952
(2) Denham,D. and Clapperton H; op. cit. Clapperton's Journal, p.21.
(3) Barth, H; op. cit. Vol. II, p.311.

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642 most useful institution, in terms of survival, was the organisation of a feudal state. Under the king, the nobility had their own fiefs which validated their status in the state and insured their all-important military cooperation. It was indicated in the chapter that this kind of organization has been used historically in Bornu for incorporating entire tribes into the Kanuri state, if such was desirable.

The major point, however, is the legacy of the state organization which the historical development of Kanuri feudalism has maintained. [701] A well ordered and easily expandable war machine for the offensive and defensive policies of the state was a primary result of the feudal organ- [692] ization. Once these structural principles were in operation, taxation [652] and a hierarchical political and judicial system became possible and operative over a wide territory.

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633 The presence of a capital city with a large administrative
463 and military class served as a stimulus for the specialization of labour.
433 This body of people was an ever-ready market for the sale of surplus
439 subsistence produce and a wide range of specialized manufactured materials of local and imported origin, which in turn stimulated trade and the development of the market from the very earliest days of the kingdom.

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642 Another of the contributory strengths of Kanuri feudalism in terms of survival was its flexibility, that is to say, its ability to expand and contract from the center. As long as the nucleus of a court and a monarch remained, no harm was done to its continued existence. Feudalism is a segmentary corporate structure; if the top remains, including the idea of its centrality and paramount position in the conception of the state, then the expansion and contraction of the state itself bears no relation whatsoever to its survival. Segments may break off, others may join on, but as long as there remains the tangible concept of some-

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the Districts adjacent to the new capital to take turns bringing in to Maiduguri approximately 10 (1) tons of millet per week in excess of the amount usually brought to market. This was to ensure that the expanded urban population might have enough grain available for sale to meet its needs. In a similar but less spectacular manner each District headquarters became an expanded market town when the fief-holders came there to live bringing with them their large following and specialised needs. Thus inadvertently and concomitantly to the political reorganisation which the British carried on, an economic [565] readjustment was made. The consumptive needs of the large upper class which moved to Maiduguri, and the smaller enclaves of this same class which had moved out to the Districts had to be satisfied. That is to say, new nuclei of consumption were created in the Kanuri state [491] while others were abandoned or made smaller. Distributive channels of consumption and production developed in response to these changes in the settlement patterns of the non-productive upper class and roads were built connecting the District capital to Maiduguri and linking one District capital to another.

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In other aspects of economic activity, the British quite strenuously put down the slave trade and helped promote the growth of trade from Bornu towards the west (Kano) and south. (2) This soon brought the Bornu-Tripoli trade to a sad end, and Bornu's primary source of external trade came from its position in Nigeria and the west coast of Africa. At first, gum arabic and skins formed the major export

(1) The Annual Report for 1907 gives the figure as 800 gs (one sa is approximately equal to 25 lbs).
(2) An ex-slave trader in Bornu reported that his last raid had been conducted circa 1921-2. He gave up the trade because of the strong opposition from the European authorities which made the trade lucrative but dangerous.

175 439 items while cloth was the largest import. However from 1925 on-
175 436 wards, groundnuts increased in importance as an export crop. The government introduced a sterling coin currency which slowly replaced the Maria Theresa dollar as the most generally accepted medium of exchange. In the annual report of 1915 there was a complaint by the Resident of Bornu that the European trading companies were not giving currency for purchases but were paying for goods in cloth which the native middlemen were then selling, sometimes at a loss, in order to obtain cash. This seems to indicate that by 1915 currency was in universal demand, and that barter trade was dying out. After some pressure by the government the European traders dropped their bartering practices and began to use the present system of cash credit.
175 441 452 The Companies advanced credit to a limited number of middlemen who then bought company goods for resale at local markets, and/or used the money to purchase export items for sale to the credit-advancing
175 441 452 563 [167] Company. At first the African traders dealing with the Companies were few and their volume not impressive. The desire of the Europeans to expand trading volume, plus the willingness and ability of Levantine traders to take larger amounts of credit, soon encouraged a small but very active minority of Arab speaking traders from North Africa, the Near East and the Sudan to enter Bornu. These acted as middlemen between the European trading Companies and the more numerous African traders. The result was that a small group of Arab-speaking traders were established in Maiduguri who absorbed a large proportion of the available credit from the European Companies and filtered it, second-hand as it were, into the economy of Bornu.

The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of

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The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of West Africa, developed a distinctive quality which arose primarily as a result of the dearth of available excess capital at the local level which could be utilized for trade. For this reason competition among the European traders involved a strong competition in the financing of tradersas well as the more usual aspects of commerce, like price, quality and sole distributorships. Although the major part of this competition went on between Europeans for the Arab speaking traders it also served as a stimulus in expanding the number of traders in the native population.

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The other relatively distinctive feature of the Bornu trade was the small number of Companies which participated in it at the European level. By the early 1920's almost the entire trade of Bornu to and from western Europe was handled by five or six large firms. Bauer has shown how this paucity was not only a commercial development but was encouraged by government who found it easier to deal with a few well established firms rather than a number of small ones.(1)

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The outside influences coming into Bornu after 1900 were thus of a two pronged variety which set up various responses in the political and economic spheres of local life. Up until the second world war, the main concern of the colonial official was to make the policy of indirect rule work, while always trying to force a more comprehensive understanding and conformity to the general values and standards of English culture. The theme for all annual reports running from circa 1914 to circa 1944 can be best expressed in the oft repeated phrase "steady progress." Each year tax collections were a little better, a few more students were attending the provincial

(1) Bauer P.T. West African Trade: (Cambridge University Press) 1954, pp. 150-156.

438 and also produce "ready-to-wear" clothes for the market. He gives them
294 a place to sleep, their food, clothing, and spending money and keeps the return on their labour. They each hope one day to have machines of their own.

• 439 Unlike food production, Bornu crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. There has always been an import trade which brought into the State either raw materials, e.g. iron for the blacksmiths, or finished products like paper, textiles, or glass beads from beyond Bornu. Furthermore, there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other places in the region of the western Sudan and elsewhere. Trade between Kano and Bornu has made the Kanuri knife an accepted part of Kano's material culture, while leather work
438 from Kano can be seen all over Bornu. On a more local level, in the Magumeri market, craft work from other centres almost always finds its
178 way into the local market to compete with locally produced items. In
[438] recent years this competition has resulted in the practical obliteration of the indigenous production of cloth, because of the universal
[49] adoption of imported textiles. Donkeys and camels decline as media of transport as a direct function of the establishment of roads and regu-
[256] lar lorry routes. If milling of grain by machine spreads, then the man-
[322] ufacture of wooden mortars and pestles to pound grain decreases accord-
[463] ingly. But this is not a one-sided affair. Cultural and social change bring new "crafts" such as motor mechanics, carpentry, lorry driving, commishama (commission men), who collect the fees for the lorry drivers at the various stations.

434 The following table shows the degree to which craft workers and other occupational groups depend upon non-agricultural activities for their annual income in cash and kind.

231 Mala Bukar, the butcher

463 The butcher's craft, although comparatively lucrative, is a low status occupation. It requires technical skills and social re-

[874] lations beyond the tribe. Manual and anatomical knowledge of butchery is learned during the apprenticeship period, often referred to as "taking up the knife". The craft also requires continuous relations

• [439] with cattle owners, who supply the raw material for the work. Since cows are primarily kept by Fulani and Shuwa nomads, this requires inter-tribal relations for the butcher with the cattle people. Sheep and goats are kept locally and sold generally by their keepers to one of the several local butchers.

592 Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child, aged about three, and two tada njima (sons of the house, in this case, apprentices). There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for himself, one for the two apprentices, and

592 one for meat storage. The apprentices are both sons of butchers un-

874 related but known to Mala Bukar. They explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down in their home towns as butchers. One seemed much surer of returning eventually to his

[831] father's household than the other. They treat Mala Bukar with as much respect as they would a real biological father, but seem to have a somewhat more open discussion with him of their sexual life than sons who live at home.

423 Mala Bukar has inherited some farmland with the kulo fatobe area (the near or house farm area). He also has a plot farther out in

241 the kulo karabe area (far or bush farm area). In addition, his apprentices are clearing (1956) a new plot in the bush farm area which is to replace a depleted one next year. The apprentices are also clearing

443 Magumeri for the Sunday market. Kachella feels that these people are his
366 friends. On the other hand, although Kachella's market friends to the
572 north are known to and known by his market friends to the south, they are not "friends" to one another. Again, the friends to the south have their own friends farther south at markets which Kachella rarely visits. Thus market cycles are overlapping, interlocking networks of social and economic relations which vary for each market town.

443 Beside the interlocking cycle of local markets, each town
366 and/or cycle has some kind of link with a larger center of the export-
439 import trade, the two largest being Maiduguri in the south, and Nguru
[437] (the rail head) in the extreme northwest of the Emirate. Traditionally trading caravans set out from Maiduguri once every two weeks for remote market towns. Although less important today, these can still be
[494] seen. If there are roads, lorries bring people and goods from the larger centres early on market day and return at night or the next day with rural purchasers and travellers returning to or visiting the urban centre.

443 One of the chief features resulting from this system of
366 distribution is that markets on motor roads assume primary importance
494 while those back in the bush are becoming secondary, and are less well attended. However, the interlocking nature of the rural market cycles makes for ease of communication and distribution in the region as a whole, and this is accentuated by the direct links with the centre and the modern use of lorries as the primary means of transport.

366 The relation between market towns and population size is
494 indirect. Very few market towns in Bornu have population aggregates
161 of under one thousand, while the presence of a market and, more im-
[162] portantly, a motor road tend to stimulate population growth. Thus pop-

571 (even though the two men are almost the same age).

(b) Bukar, tada njima of Mala Yaro (Bukar, the "son of the house" of Mala Yaro.

438 442 443 571 Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about town in Kagumeri, with a tin of cellophane wrapped candies. Mala Yaro, one of the N. A. messengers who goes in and out to the city regularly gives him a tin about once a week, which the boy sells in town. Mala Yaro buys the tin from a "Kanti" (canteen or shop) run by a Kanuri in Maiduguri. The boy who is not related by kinship or marriage to his superior also helps Mala Yaro in the compound, carries his spear when the latter rides in ceremonial displays, gathers grass for the horse, carries water for the household (the women are in seclusion) and in return receives his food, clothing, shelter and spending money from his superior. Profits from the retailing of candy accrue to the senior who gives Bukar a small commission for his selling services. Here the retail economic relationship is only one small aspect of the superior/subordinate barzum relationship between the seller and his wholesale supplier, and therefore both meanings of the word apply to the one situation.

(c) Ajimi Gworoma (Ajima the kola-nut seller)

438 442 For the six to eight months a year when he is not tending his farm plots and intermittently during the farming season, Ajimi sells to bakama, retailers of small quantities of kola nuts. His Fa-Ol-Bro is Alkali Bukar, the ex-Alkali (judge) of Geidam District.(1) As of July, 1956, Alkali Bukar had given Ajimi £20.0.0 in cash on eight separate occasions since the end of the 1955 harvests. With this money Ajimi purchased kola-nuts from big traders, who had trucked the nuts into Maiduguri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.

[439] [554]

(1) Having once received the title of Alkali, or any title, the recipient maintains it evey after he has become inactive in the role.

441 (3) One "boy" bought fish at Abadam on Lake Chad and sold it in Maidu-
• 439 guri.

(4) One "boy" bought soda in Bama (Cameroons) for sale in Maiduguri.

(5) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Kano.

(6) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Kaka-urdi.

(7) One "boy" purchased butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sold it in Maiduguri.

441 (8) One (Ajimi) sold kola-nuts in Nagumeri and previously bought ground-
438 nuts for sale in the capital.

441 It can readily be seen that this man, although not directly
57/ involved, finances a fairly large amount of trade. His method of participation is peculiarly Kanuri, in that he utilizes the tada njima relationship with its birzum (discipline-respect) and aman (trust) content to head up a large commercial organization on a structural basis similar to Kanuri kinship and political organization.

441 It is men like Alkali Bukar who form the basis for what
452 might be called "finance traders", i.e. a person who has sufficient capital and/or credit connections, that he can begin attracting to himself subordinates whose primary task is the business of buying and selling commodities throughout Bornu. Like almost all trade in the area which is not directly linked to consumer expenditure, the activities of men like Alkali Bukar are extremely diffuse. He does not specialize in any one item of trade, rather he finances any type of buying and selling in which any conceivable profit might accrue to himself. This
[511] diffuse quality in trade is due to several factors. Firstly, the poverty of the country which is reflected in its small consumption of any one item per unit family. This makes it more profitable to spread out

441 and trade in many commodities. Secondly, the European companies have
452 always dealt in all items of export and import, and have encouraged and
[648] even forced, at times, (through conditional sales) their trade contacts to deal in more than one item.

441 However, the process of specialization is always latently
178 present, requiring only proper stimulation to emerge in the face of the traditional process of organizing relationships in the pattern of an
441 extended Kanuri household. This has happened in the case of a Maiduguri
439 trader, Alhaji Jibrim, who is a partner in a crocodile skin exporting
281 business with a European. The European, whose brothers collect skins in four or five other African countries, feels that with self-government coming shortly to Nigeria, his business interests will best be served in the future if his Nigerian branch has an African partner. Alhaji has a score of tada njima who go to the bush with cash and contact other middlemen who have obtained the crocodile skins from the hunters. The tada njima then bring the skins to Maiduguri, where they are prepared by Alhaji and his European partner for air transport to Paris, London and New York.

441 Few Bornu traders are as specialized as Alhaji Jibrim. The typical trader takes goods and cash from wherever he can and passes these on to the subordinates in his organization, his tada njima, who then trade with local wholesalers or retailers.

441 Intermeshed with Kanuri trade and acting as an export/import
439 filter through which most large scale trade passes in and out of Bornu
563 are the Levantine and European trading establishments.

The Levantines are small business men who understand western commercial techniques and are willing to deal in small quantities to many outlets. Thus a large proportion obtain goods and credit from the

441 Levantines. This does not mean that there are no Africans trading
439 directly with the European houses, rather it reflects an historical
563 development in which the Levantine traders emerged as the middlemen between the European and the African trading communities.

Although a little importing and exporting is carried on by the Levantine and, to a much smaller extent, by the Kanuri traders, the bulk of the export/import trade is done by five or six leading European firms.(1) This system has been attacked by local Bornu politicians, who feel that the Levantines should not have the easiest and largest access to the credit of European firms and banks. The difficulty encountered is that the present system has built-in supports which tend, albeit with diminishing force, to perpetuate its present form. First of all, it must be realized that once the credit is out to the Levantine traders, it is difficult to liquidate in any real fashion. When attempts [452] are made to do this, e.g. when one company is clearing its books, a very usual practice is followed in which the indebted Levantine trader merely goes to another competing European firm (or several) plus the bank, if possible, and takes enough credit to pay his debt to the liquidating company. European traders often refer to this phenomenon and complain of the Levantines as having them "by the throats". Secondly, it is patently easier for harassed European managers to keep track of trade with fifty to one hundred Levantines than it would be with hundreds of African entrepreneurs. Thirdly, there is less cultural and racial distance between European managers of the large firms and the Levantine traders than between the European and the African. Similarly,

(1) Excluding mining equipment, ships, boats and stores of the larger shipping companies, it has been estimated, Bauer, P.T., West African Trade, p. 69, that 70% of all West African trade (as of 1949) is handled by six trading companies.

441 the Levantine often speaks Kanuri and almost always fluent Hausa; he
439 lives in the African town; and is a Muslim. He is therefore culturally
563 and socially closer to the Kanuri traders than is the European and stands in middleman relationship between the European and the African for many other than simply economic reasons.

178 Pressure to short-cut the Levantine trader continues from
441 the African community. Growing capital resources and acquaintance with
439 western business techniques, besides a growing nationalism which hints at
563 xenophobia, is enlarging the direct contacts between the Africans and the European trading houses. At least one European firm has recently made a definite move to go to the rural areas and seek out retailers locally to give them small advances of textile goods, thus short-cutting the chain of middlemen which has previously obtained between the European importers and the bush retailer.

Credit

452 Underlying much of the economy of Bornu is a manifold system of credit which eases the operation of the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services. At the local level, credit can
452 be obtained in several ways. A man may borrow money or goods from a
571 friend, relative or superior with whom he has a relationship involving mutual trust. This kind of credit requires no interest. Failure to repay renders future requests less possible and makes the relationship less important for both concerned. Thus if Modu borrows five pounds from his friend or superior and does not repay the loan, other aspects of the relationship such as eating food at his creditor's house begin
[691] to atrophy. Court action is a possibility but only as a last resort and after some overt antagonism since it translates a potentially profitable relationship into one of mutual conflict and such breaches do not heal easily.